

problem in Cleveland, I have developed some personal convictions about the subject that I believe will be helpful in analyzing title II of the poverty bill, which is the only section, incidentally, of this bill that I have studied.

The elimination of urban poverty involves an unbelievably complex cluster of factors. The complexity magnifies the difficulty of solution. Any program designed to improve all factors at once is very apt to be too complex and comprehensive to manage. I believe, therefore, that basic programs should first be launched to make people afflicted with poverty economically self-supporting. This involves two groups of people—those in school and those who have finished or dropped out of school. The opportunity to do an effective job of poverty elimination is much greater for those still in school than for those out of school. Because I believe that the most effective programs in the entire poverty problem area are those that can be developed among the young, I will direct my remarks to this subject.

I am convinced that any solution to the problem of poverty, even for those now very young, must meet the following tests in order to be effective over the long term.

First, the program adopted must apply to the entire geographic area affected. Demonstration solutions in small areas are helpful as research but not lasting as cures.

Second, the program must be designed to continue indefinitely. The problem of poverty has been with us from the beginning of history. It is not apt to be fully solved in the next generation even in America. The machinery for its solution, therefore, should be structured to continue indefinitely.

Third, the program should be managed by a single authority with prime responsibility to get the job done over a long period of time. In other words, a mere coordinating agency would not be strong enough to do the job in spite of the fact that any plan will call for substantial coordination among many agencies.

Fourth, the program must be financed on a basis that permits more activity than has so far resulted from the combination of public and independent institutions working on the problem. There are many reasons why the present system of public and private activity has failed. Lack of money is not only one of such reasons, it is a controlling reason.

Fifth, the program must involve the families in the poverty area served. In Negro areas this will be, predominantly, mothers, without such involvement motivation for learning or change is too difficult and the institution in charge of the program cannot influence factors having a dominant impact on the people involved in the program.

Sixth, a program has the greatest chance for lasting effectiveness if it starts with children at the earliest age they can be made available for extra family institutional attention. The problem of retrieving dropouts or retraining adults to a level of economic self-sufficiency is infinitely greater than the problem of preventing new generations of children from joining the lost generations. The younger the child, the greater the chances of lasting program benefit.

Seventh, the program must cover more hours of the day, more days of the week, and more weeks of the year than are now covered by the combination of public and independent agencies. Without better time